Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana
Samatari

/19 cont./

411 184 114 [173] almost identical with that of the Surára and Pakidái, except for the fact that the former is set off at the ends. This confirms the statements made by the Indians investigated by me who said that they obtained bows of this kind and the knowledge of how to make them themselves from the Xiriâna. In reply to my question as to why their bows were not set off at the end, I was told that the Xiriâna demand this deviation. In the Hamburg Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte /Museum for Ethnology and Prehistory/, there are two Xiriâna bows which were collected by Koch-Grünberg (12. 25:29, 12. 25:31). They are relatively small specimens, however, for they are only 1. 92 and 1. 82 meters high, respectively. A bow which came from the Xamatâri of the Rio Maiá, a left tributary of the Rio Cauaboris, and which is also in the Hamburg Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte (Boeldecke Collection, 56. 15:4) and is two meters high, has exactly the same shape as the Surára and Pakidái one, that is, without the offset ends. .This is not surprising, for, according to the statement of the Surára chief Hewemão, the Xamatâri are likewise satellites of the Xiriâna (see p. 12). Finally, it should be mentioned that the same bow-form has also been documented for the Waiká in Venezuela (70).

70. Schuster, 1958b, p. 17.

411 249 824 The arrows -- xerêka --, whose total length comes to between 2-2. 12 meters (shaft length 1. 89-1. 94 meters; weight, 60-90 grams) (71) (72), are made out of arrow cane -- xerekaîbe --

[114]

71. These measurements confirm Weule's statement when he says that the arrow must correspond in length, shape, and weight to the bow, in order to guarantee a certain accuracy of aim (Weule, 1899, p. 6).

72. Pertinent comparisons with other South American tribes are to be found in the chart by Ranke (Ranke, 1903, p. 347).

Surára
pakidái
Shiriana
Xamatari

/19 cont./

411 which the Surára and Pakidái plant in the vicinity of their malokas
[249] on the upper Aracá and the middle Demini, respectively. All five
[824] of the arrow types used by them have the same feathering --
[227] jaromahik --, which consists of two halves of the black wing feathers of the mutum (Crax sp.) -- pararí. They are placed against the cane in such a way that they alternately show the upper and the
[283] lower side of the feather. At several places on the hand end they are held by two threads of the tight winding of Bromelia fibers -- pemakasiurakama. Inside this winding, which is supposed to strengthen the weak cane against the pressure of the bowstring, there is stuck on the end of the cane in addition a small wooden peg fastened with resin, which has a notch in its thickened outer part, which is set on the bowstring. This is supposed to prevent the cane from splitting when the arrow flies off. The upper end of the feather shaft is wound with a second, narrower winding, in which, between the two halves of the arrow feathers, two additional small black mutum feathers are frequently stuck as ornaments (Fig. 2f).

411 184 114 The feathering described belongs to the Guiana type of feathering, according to the classification by Meyer (73). Koch-

73. Meyer, no date, p. 9.

Grünberg (74) confirms it for the Xirišna, and it can also be recog-

74. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 312 and Pl. 47 (4, 7, 8).

nized on the arrows which that investigator brought back for the Hamburg Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte (Koch-Grünberg Collection, 12.25:33-42). The arrows in the Alfred Boeldecke Collection (56.15:5-7) in the same museum and the drawings by Vinci (75) show that the Xamatári likewise use this

75. Vinci, 1956, p. 146, Fig. a.

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137
114
[104]
[184]

/81 cont./
mention such seedless fruits (382).

382. Zerries, moreover, thinks it is possible that among the Waiká the pupunha fruit was the predecessor of the mealy banana (Zerries, 1956b, p. 148).

244

The cultivation of tubers, which is always done separately from the banana plantings, has hitherto been practiced on only a very modest scale. It includes the cultivation of taioba or taro (Colocasia antiquorum and Xanthosoma violaceum Schott.) -- ohîná -- (383), cará or yams (Dioscorea

383. Among the Waiká the corresponding name is "ohina" (Zerries, 1956b p. 153).

sp.) -- cabiromá -- sweet manioc, known in Brazil as macaxeira aipim or mandioca doce (Manihot palmata Muell. Arg.) -- mihitarîma -- bitter manioc (Manihot utilissima Pohl) -- kuamirimakõke --, and sweet potatoes (Ipomoea batatas Lam.) -- hikarî -- (384). Worth mentioning

249
243

384. The Waiká call the sweet potato "higali" (Zerries, 1956b, p. 153).

also are the sugar cane plantings (sugar cane (Saccharum officinale) -- bukî -- (385)) and the absence of maize (386).

385. The Waiká have the same word for sugar cane (Zerries, 1956b, p. 153).

[184]

386. Zerries, to be sure, found evidence of its cultivation by the Waiká. But, he adds, maize "is little more than a rare delicacy" (Zerries, 1956b, p. 153).

/82/
•249 Besides the cultivated plants used for food, some are raised to be used for enjoyment. These are primarily tobacco (Nicotiana tabacum) -- peenáke -- (387) and a pepper plant (Piperacea sp.) --

387. The Waiká word for this is "be" (Zerries, 1956b, p. 154).

maxarahá -- (388) which is required for making the narcotic

[184]

388. This plant is also cultivated by the Waiká and is designated by almost the same name "masho hara" (Zerries, 1956b, p. 154).

snuff-powder (see pp. 192), as well as -- perakí -- (389)

389. The Waiká call this pepper plant "blaki" (Zerries, 1956b, p. 154).

(Piper caudatum Vahl.), Portuguese pimenta-dos-índios, with which they spice their food.

249 824 Finally, the cultivation of plants yielding important required articles should be mentioned. These are arrow cane (Sagittaria montevidensis Cham. et Schl.) -- xerekaíbe --, the urucuzeiro (Bixa orellana L.), from whose seeds, found in a thorny capsule, the red coloring matter urucú -- narú -- is obtained (see p. 122), as well as a Bignoniaceae (Crescentia cujete Lin.) and Cucurbitaceae (Cucurbita lagenaria L. and Cucurbita idolatrica Lacerda), the fruits of which are used as vessels (see p. 114).

248 The cultivation of cotton (Gossypium barbadense or hirsutum) -- xinarí -- is of comparatively recent date.

252 [462] 8. Preparation of Food

The preparation of solid food is almost exclusively in the hands of the women, but the roasting of game is reserved for the men (390). There are two methods of doing this: The simplest

[171]

390. According to Baldus, this prerogative

Surára
Pakidái

/88 cont./

276 and Pakidái I was unable to learn anything with reference to this, although there, too, the consumption of tobacco is uncommonly
•[249] great. They plant plenty of tobacco in all the forest clearings, however, and if it were entirely harvested in the fields where they were living at the time, the men fetch it from other distant rocas or in emergencies they obtain it from friendly tribes by barter.

[184] [114] Koch-Grünberg reports that the Xiriána and Waiká hordes visited by him chew the tobacco (430). From his description, how-

430. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 311.

276 171 114 ever, it is to be seen that actually a sucking of the tobacco is also involved. The Arekuná on the Roroima probably also did the same thing, although Richard Schomburgk (431) and Appun (432)

431. Richard Schomburgk, 1848, II, p. 239.

432. Appun, 1871, p. 521.

agree in speaking of "tobacco chewing." It is noteworthy that Koch-Grünberg (433) did not observe this form of tobacco enjoyment

433. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 57.

among any other tribe in the Roroíma region, for on the occasion of his visits the men smoked the tobacco as cigarettes or in short English pipes which were imported from British Guiana; he never saw women smoke.

123 276 If I offered the Surára and Pakidái cigarettes, they first always removed the paper and enjoyed the tobacco in the same way as their cultivated tobacco. Yet they were not very enthusiastic about it, for in their opinion the cigarette tobacco was much too weak. In time, however, men and children became accustomed to smoking (434), but not the women.

434. As a result of this, our supply of cigarettes rapidly dwindled, and my

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

along by himself and hopped round us twittering. Then he flew off, to return a little while later with another in tow—perhaps the hen bird. Twittering again, he presented us to her as a fabulous discovery. They twittered a commentary and flew off, returning a little later, this time with a whole flock of friends. Then, with the courage that comes with numbers, they all made for our eyes to get at the honey. We were forced to disillusion them.

VIII

The Shirians have tobacco, *pihsi* as they call it: even the most primitive and savage of them, the Samatari, cultivate two things in some hidden corner of the forest known only to themselves—tobacco, and the cane from which they make their arrows. Vice and war!

We were highly attracted towards the Uagna river lands, which, according to Luis Antonio, was country rich in game and inhabited, or at least occasionally crossed, by the Samatari, who inspired terror all round them. Enrico, Momi, and I set out on an expedition there, leaving Jean and Artur to wait for the plane.

We stopped on the way at the Uarema settlement; Luis Antonio wanted to show us off to his people, who had never seen men with beards and wearing clothes.

That night we slept in a crowded hut, and our curiosity was drawn towards a young woman who had strung her hammock between those of Uarema's two nephews (whose persons were adorned with feathers and plumes). She stayed in all day as well, a cosseted Shirian Cleopatra, continually looking at herself in the little glass we had given her and adjusting the white feather boa which covered her ears and her shoulders. During the course of the day other women came to help her with her toilet, painting her cheeks and forehead with certain precise geometrical designs: they used red and black colouring matter which when dry shone like enamel. Even her little quid of tobacco was smaller and daintier than others used. Uarema told us that she was the public woman of the tribe.

Next morning, when we were stepping into our boats again, Pancho and Benito came along in a big canoe. They wanted salt from us. We had very little, and had to refuse them. They went off in silence. When they were two hundred yards away, they shouted something in our direction. Luis Antonio

/444 cont./

241 The land is cleared by first pulling out all the small plants and stems; then the trees which reach a trunk diameter of around 25 centimeters are cut with a machete, and finally the large trees are cut down with an axe.

[313] Sometimes they climb the tree and attach a liana to it so as to be able to pull it to direct its fall.

After the trees have had sufficient time to dry out on the ground, they cut off the branches and pile them up with the underbrush in order finally to burn them. Owing to the abundance of rainfall, it is impossible for them to wait for a dry period. I have seen them burn the weeds in their conuco after it had rained heavily the night before. Sometimes they must bring dry firewood in order to make the damp weeds burn.

An old woman told me one day: "These people of today [412] have it easy. We did not have machetes and axes in former [178] times. Fire was our principal tool. /445/ We had to carry a lot of firewood to pile up around the trees in order to bring them down by fire."

412 There is an indication in their language that at one time they 174 used stone axes before being able to acquire metal axes and [92] machetes. They use the same word, "boo," to designate both the machete and a certain stone which they use for grinding the "yopo" powder. This stone has the proper form for making an ax out of it, if a handle were attached to it. Nevertheless, the relationship between these objects, if there was one at one time, is unknown to the present generation of El Platanal.

241 A bow without a string or a similar stick is the principal 412 instrument which they use for planting. They use it both to loosen the small banana stems for replanting and to open holes in the ground for holding practically any kind of seed.

• 249 Tobacco is planted first in a garden bed and then transplanted. The small plants are protected from the sun for a few days by means of platano leaves put on a covering for shade.

241 Sometimes a few stakes are fixed in the ground to indicate plantings near the paths, thus keeping the seeds or young plants from being stepped on.

/463 cont./

373 as well as to light the path. Torches of gum and resin are also
416 used sometimes on the paths during the night, but the common
484 type of torch is the fagot of tied pieces of wood. A group which travels at night (as occurs when they are returning after nightfall from the work of fishing) may carry only one torch. Then they stop from time to time to arrange the joined sticks and to revive the fire, keeping it from going out.

373 The wood fire is the principal source of light and heat in the
374 settlements. The fires are kept lighted during the entire night, both to produce warmth and for protection against predatory animals and the spirits of human beings which have returned.

392 There do not seem to be any beliefs or ceremonies related to the production and maintenance of fire.

Weapons

411 The principal weapon of the Guaica /Waica/ is the bow and arrow. They also use macanas.

[824] The bow is made of palm wood, generally of "pijiguao,"
[283] with a strong string made of threads of bark. This string has three or more threads of twisted bark, which give it great strength.

[249] The shafts of their arrows are made of the festooned part
[237] of a certain wild cane, which they cultivate in their "conucos." They feather them with the points of wing feathers of wild turkeys.

Arrow points vary according to the type of game which is to be the target. The wide bamboo point is used /464/ principally against large land animals; the bone one for shooting large and medium-sized birds, and the poisoned points principally for monkeys. Any of these points might be used against man in the event of war. Against small birds they shoot the shaft, first removing the point, or they use a point ramified at the end, made out of a small branch quickly broken off some nearby plant. The accompanying Fig. 7 /see p. 35/ shows the different types of arrow points of the Guaika. /Fig. 7 appears here./

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Another important cultivated plant is tobacco. Since men, women, and children all chew tobacco, the patch of ground devoted to its cultivation is quite large. Each family grows its own supply and jealously guards it. It is one of the most commonly stolen crops and, therefore, frequently has a conspicuous stick fence around it to draw the thief's attention to the fact that its owner shows a strong concern for its welfare. A man will even put a fence between his own tobacco and that of his father, should the two crops be planted side by side, and neither man can take a plant belonging to the other without permission. I also saw a young man place a number of sharpened bones in the ground near his tobacco patch so that a thief might suffer a serious foot wound should he trespass.

Cotton is the last plant to which major significance can be attached. The fibers are separated by hand from the seeds and spun into thread with a stick whorl, then several threads are twisted into a thick yarn. The yarn is rolled into balls about the size of a grapefruit and stored until enough has been accumulated to make a hammock. Frequently the balls of yarn are traded to the members of other villages.

The hammocks are manufactured on a crude frame consisting of two upright poles located about 6 feet from each other. The yarn is wrapped around and around the two poles until the desired width of the hammock is reached, usually about a yard, perhaps a little more. About a dozen vertical seams are braided into the horizontal strands of yarn; the poles are removed after the ends of the hammock have been tied with a few strands of cotton string, and the new hammock is completed (see Fig. 2-7). The women also use the yarn to make a short waistband, armband, and halter, and the men use it to make fat, round belts. All ages and sexes use it as a wrist, ankle, knee, and chest cord, and the men make a waist cord of the string, to which they tie their penis foreskins.

Numerous other plants are cultivated in the gardens, but are not as significant in everyday life as those discussed. They include leaf fibers, *hixa* pigment, avocados, drugs, water gourds and gourds for making spoons and ladles, a kind of squash whose seeds are eaten and whose yellow flowers are used by the young girls as decorations, sugar cane, cashew trees, papaya fruit, hot peppers, and a host of magical plants.

Most of the magical plants are associated with benevolent or at least nonmischievous functions. "Female charms" (*sua hãrõ*), for example, are used by men to make women more receptive to sexual advances. The dried leaves of the magical plant are mixed with a fragrant wood, and the resulting powder is said to be able to make a reluctant female hunger for sex. Most men carry a small packet of this at all times. The powder is held in the palm of the hand, which is then held firmly against the nose of the female: She is forced to breathe it into her lungs. After she has done this, she becomes very receptive, and can thereafter be easily seduced by the man who charmed her. Another magical plant is cultivated by the women. Its leaves are thrown on the men when they have club fights because it allegedly keeps their tempers under control and prevents the fight from escalating to shooting. Still other plants are cultivated to insure that male or female children grow up to be healthy adults, a different plant being associated with each sex.

Some of the plants are cultivated for malevolent purposes, such as causing the women in enemy villages to have miscarriages or pains in the back when they are preg-